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# What is happening in Bulgaria?

*An objective Description by*

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## Introduction to the English Translation.

The publication of the following pamphlet in the English language calls for no explanation. The terrible facts set forth one after another in the following pages, and confirmed by documents, speak for themselves. But in spite of this they nowhere obtain a hearing. For if they were heard, then an international action against that which is happening in Bulgaria would be commenced at once.

Little Bulgaria, where now for the past two years the blood of the tortured workers, including also thousands of intellectuals, has been flowing day after day, is the experimenting field of the Great Powers, before all of Great Britain, who are endeavouring to maintain „Law and Order“ in town and country by the literal wholesale extermination of the overwhelming majority of the population who are opposed to the unexampled and ferocious reign of terror of a handful of bankers and generals standing behind „Professor“ Zankov. A precondition for this attempt — which is of world political importance — at terrorist „stabilisation“ which is being carried out in Bulgaria, is the isolation of the ill-treated and suppressed people of Bulgaria from the workers of the rest of the world.

The entire bourgeois press of the whole world, which is a ready tool of the great capitalists, is working in the interest of the murderous Zankov government which is maintaining a conspiracy of silence over the innumerable acts of murder. On the other hand, an international pogrom mood is being ruthlessly worked up against the victims of the white terror. Following on the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia the pogrom incitement of a corrupt press, subsidised by the Bulgarian government, reached boiling point.

The latest facts show that the Bulgarian regime of „professors“ and generals which is working on behalf of the Bulgarian and international bankers, considers the opportunity favourable for carrying out real blood baths among the „subversive“ population. Day after day, as is to be seen even from the reports of the official Bulgarian telegraph agency, numerous persons — after fearful mishandling — are being murdered. (The usual formula states: „while attempting to escape“ or „in consequence of resisting arrest“). The present events place everything that has happened hitherto in the shade. In the trial of the alleged authors of the outrage in the Sofia Cathedral, Bulgarian Justice surpassed itself. The proceedings at the trial were a mockery of all conceptions of Justice. When the accused wanted to say anything of importance, the public was excluded. On the strength of false statements of spies, the accused were charged and finally, although they

obviously had nothing whatever to do with the Cathedral explosion and in fact are opponents of individual terror, were condemned to death. This revolting judicial murder will be carried out in Sofia in a day or two in full view of the public, a symbol of the Zankov regime.

Who are the real terrorists is clearly shown by another event which occurred within the last few days: the foul murder of the revolutionary Macedonian, Panitza, by an agent of the Bulgarian fascist government in the Burg Theatre in Vienna. But the international press, in collusion with the international, and before all the Vienna police, is endeavouring to conceal the facts. But there remains not the least doubt that Panitza met the same fate as his numerous fellow fighters, such as Tchaulev who was murdered in Italy, and that the „death sentence“ pronounced upon him by the government fascist committee in Sofia, with the Macedonian traitor, Protogerov, at the head, has been carried out.

It is therefore the need of the hour to break through the international conspiracy against the Bulgarian people. It is urgently necessary to help the tortured and bleeding people of Bulgaria and therefore, as is the purpose of this pamphlet, to spread the truth regarding Bulgaria among the broad public.

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## Foreword.

Bulgaria, that remotely situated little Balkan country which was hardly touched by the course of the world war, has for some time past been the centre point of interest. Since the 15th April last, reports from Bulgaria have followed hard upon each other, each surpassing the previous one. An attempt is made upon the life of the King; General Gheorghieff is murdered, and at his funeral service in the cathedral of Sofia an infernal machine explodes bringing death to hundreds. Martial law is proclaimed and a strict censor takes care that only official reports, or those inspired by the official side, are allowed to penetrate to the outer world. And yet even these reports, which constantly assert that Law and Order prevail — even these reports are of such a dreadful character, and convey the impression of happenings which are so fearful, that everything which has hitherto occurred in this inwardly torn country, in which civil war is a normal condition, appears mild in comparison.

According to the official reports, Law and Order prevail throughout the whole country; and yet these reports speak of arrests, shootings, burning of villages and Court Martials. The number of those arrested and murdered during the last few days has already reached a phantastic figure; and in spite of all the efforts of the censor there arises from the country the cry of anguish of a tortured people wrestling with its torturers. The European public, falsely informed by official reports and by unscrupulous newspaper correspondents, is incapable of forming any idea of what is now going on in Bulgaria; the more so as even the official reports are full of contradictions.

It is the purpose of this pamphlet to describe by means of authentic documents the true state of affairs in Bulgaria, to enlighten the public regarding the recent happenings in Bulgaria, and to give a brief sketch of the background of these events. It has been penned under the impression of the recent dreadful events in Bulgaria, which appear to be a long way from coming to an end; and should the author succeed by means of this pamphlet in contributing his share to arousing the conscience of Europe, in causing all right thinking men and women to raise a cry of protest against the extermination of thousands and

thousands of human beings and to call a halt to this unrestrained murder, then this pamphlet will have fulfilled its task.

The author, who as a foreign journalist is far from siding with any party, and as an outsider is free from all party passions, has endeavoured to make the following description as objective as possible, and trusts that he has succeeded in this.

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## I. Who is Ruling in Bulgaria?

Vanquished, militarily disorganised and completely exhausted by the wars which, with brief interruptions, lasted for six years, Bulgaria, in the autumn of 1918, surrendered unconditionally to the victorious Entente powers. By the Peace of Neuilly it had to abandon the largest portion of Macedonia and of Dobruza in favour of Greece, Jugoslavia and Roumania. In order to avert the indignation of the disappointed people who were bleeding from a thousand wounds, and in order to save the dynasty, recourse was had to the well-known means of a change of monarchs. Tsar Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his „popular“ son Boris.

In Bulgaria, as in every vanquished country, the rulers who had kindled the war did not feel strong enough to stem the ever-rising waves of revolution. They withdrew into the background and left it to the middle classes and to the middle peasants to liquidate the bankruptcy, in order on the one hand to break the point of the revolutionary movement and to cast the responsibility for the defeat which they had brought about and the peace conditions which were to be expected, upon others, and on the other hand to collect new forces in the meantime and, at the given moment, to deliver a decisive blow.

It was in this way that the peasant leader Stambolisky came into power. Conscious of the military helplessness of the country which he governed, he pursued a thoroughly peaceful foreign policy. His chief efforts in this respect were directed in the first place to arriving at a peaceful understanding with the neighbouring State of Jugoslavia. Realising that any military undertaking against Jugoslavia was hopeless from the outset, that such an undertaking for emancipating their kinsmen, the Macedonians, who were suppressed by Jugoslavia, would mean a fearful disaster for the country, he and his government were reconciled to the loss of Macedonia.

With regard to home politics, the regime of Stambolisky bore a middle peasant and petty bourgeois character. Those who were guilty of the war and of the defeat were only first brought to justice when the masses of the people demanded this with increasing energy. Whilst the government of Stambolisky introduced laws against the communists and imposed burdens of reparations and taxes upon the urban and agricultural working masses, whilst with its anti-communist laws it threatened the communists with internment etc., its measures against the town bourgeoisie bore a relatively mild character. When one takes into consideration all the draconic measures against the communists, and when one remembers that at that time there set in a formal terror against the communists, then the assertion that Stambolisky was an ally of the communists is seen to be simply ridiculous. As a result of its policy the Stambolisky government soon found

itself in an unenviable situation: on the one hand it had against it the town proletariat and the proletarian landless peasants, and on the other hand the town bourgeoisie was preparing to deliver a decisive blow. The mild treatment of the town bourgeoisie — all these ex-officers and rulers of the town regime, — enabled the latter to make systematic preparations for the decisive struggle. The counter-revolution which was preparing was further favoured by the circumstance that Stambolisky on the one hand had broken with the working masses, and therefore could not reckon upon their active support at the decisive moment, and on the other hand there stood the many thousands of Macedonian refugees, who were hostile to the government of Stambolisky in consequence of his conciliatory attitude towards Yugoslavia.

By means of promises regarding an active intervention for the liberation of Macedonia — promises which no Bulgarian government was capable of fulfilling — the counter-revolution succeeded in winning over the Macedonian refugees.

Relying upon the existing antagonism between the government and the working class, the representatives of the old regime, supported by the Macedonian refugees, in the night from 8th to 9th June 1923 delivered a decisive blow. The coup d'état succeeded. The government of Stambolisky was overthrown and the government of Zankov came into power — a government of the city bourgeoisie, of professors and generals.

To secure law and order in the country and to help democracy and peace to be victorious — this, so declared the new rulers in a manifesto, would be the aim of the new government. And in fact the new government, with the help of all these promises succeeded in winning the sympathies of the town petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie and the masses groaning under the burden of reparations, who usually do not understand the cause and the underlying connections of these phenomena, but experience their effects, are always inclined to give credit to those who promise to remedy their lot.

Scarcely, however, did the new government feel itself to be secure and regard its position as established, when it began to show its true features. Innumerable peasants, surprised by the putch, were murdered and Stambolisky himself was shot „while trying to escape“. There began a new era for Bulgaria — the era of terror.

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## II. Provocation and Revolts.

The government of Zankov, which at the commencement grouped around it all bourgeois elements, including the social democrats, soon after seizing power, dissolved the parliament in which the government of Stambolisky had possessed a majority. As the terror against political opponents continually increased and the hopes which the town petty bourgeois elements had placed upon this government were not

realised, the issue of the approaching elections could not be doubted. For the government there was not the least doubt that the whole of the peasantry and the greater portion of the town elements would not be on its side. In addition to this there was the fact that the peasants had learnt a lesson from the recent events. They had perceived that the fight on two fronts, against the military league on the one side and against the working class on the other side, could not be successful and had now united with the working class. The government was now faced with the danger that the power which it had gained by a putsch would be taken from it by legal means, by an election victory of the united workers and peasants. This danger had to be averted.

Although the election system set up by Stambolisky affords any government the possibility of obtaining a favourable election result, the Zankov government after a short period of existence enjoyed such little support that, in the normal course of events, even the most cunning election system would not have been able to help it. For apart from its political character, which found expression in a policy which was absolutely hostile to the workers and peasants, this government, consisting of generals and professors, owing to its composition, enjoyed no great sympathy.

In a defeated country, officers, and especially high officers, are not among the popular figures. In a country like Bulgaria which went through two wars, the one following soon after the other, in both of which it was defeated, it is only natural that high officers are held in very little respect, and as ministers they are less preferred than anybody. The case is not different as regards the majority of the Bulgarian University Professors. These masters of science, while they theoretically maintain that strikes on the part of state servants are not permissible, when they came into conflict with the government of Stambulisky themselves, went on strike and incited the students to strike, whilst at the same time they received strike pay from the great banks. But as soon as the conflict was settled, they left the students, whom they had incited to strike, in the lurch and acted as strike-breakers. One must bear in mind that the professors in Bulgaria, with few and disappearing exceptions, are politicians in the vulgar sense of the word and do not differ in any way from other professional politicians.

Such things, of course, are not calculated to increase the respect paid to the professors, and particularly those who have distinguished themselves as partisans rather than as men of science, when they seek to come forward as men who are suited to carry on the business of government.

Thus, in the first months of its existence the government of Zankov was faced with the question of to be or not to be. In order that the result of the elections should turn out in its favour, a means had to be found before the elections whereby its opponents could be held down, or, if possible, utterly crushed. The government regarded as the most suitable means for this purpose the artificial provocation of a revolt on the part of its opponents who were unprepared. The workers and peasants, conscious of their numerical majority, had not the least

intention of undertaking an armed revolt, as according to all indications their victory at the elections seemed inevitable.

In order, therefore, to provoke insurrections and revolts, the government had to go very cleverly to work. At the beginning of September 1923 the government declared itself to be in possession of an „authentic“ document, according to which the communists, along with the peasants, intended to carry out a revolution on September, 17. It may be mentioned that even up to the present time the government has not published this „authentic“ document. It was sought to prove that the same communists and peasants who, according to the general opinion, were certain of victory in the approaching elections, had nothing better to do than to place everything at stake! Nobody in Sofia took this „authentic“, non-existent document seriously. But it is, of course, the duty of a government to prevent the outbreak of a revolution and to take all measures in order to protect the public. And thus on the night of September 17, all known peasant and communist leaders who could be found in Sofia were arrested. The same thing also happened in the provinces. The peasants in the villages began to take up arms. In all villages where a great number of persons had been arrested, riots broke out; these riots grew into revolts which in turn grew into a powerful movement.

The government had achieved its aim. From end to end of the country there flared up the flames of revolt and, under the pretext of suppressing the Bolshevik revolution, punitive expeditions were undertaken against all districts „affected with Communism.“. The government troops who were well organised and equipped with all the modern means of warfare and in addition were reinforced by the militarily organised Macedonians refugees, succeeded in completely defeating the unarmed peasants. Thousands and thousands of peasants lost their lives in these struggles, whole villages were burnt to the ground and completely wiped out. The majority of the peasants and workers' leaders, apart from those who managed to escape over the frontiers in good time, were slaughtered, or shot „while attempting to escape“. Thousands of peasants, driven from house and home, in order to escape the vengeful arm of a savage military camarilla, took flight into the forests and mountains where they are now leading a miserable existence as outlaws.

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### III. Emigration, Amnesty and Deprivation of Economic Rights.

The hope of the government, by provoking a revolt and bloodily suppressing it, by imposing martial law and terrorising the masses, to inflict an annihilating defeat on its opponents was not fulfilled. Scarcely a few weeks after the September revolts there took place the elections, and the workers and peasants, who had been deprived of their leaders, polled together no less than 300,000 votes. Thus, in spite of the fearful terror, in spite of the fact that in many localities the peo-

sants were deprived of the possibility of taking part in the election, that thousands of them were in emigration, that thousands of them were pining in prison while huge numbers were living in the forests and mountains, and in spite of the fact that, immediately after having suffered a defeat, they had no possibility of holding election meetings, the workers and peasants' candidates together polled about 35 per cent of all the votes cast.

The power of the opposition, therefore — and this the government was soon compelled to recognise —, was not broken. If the Zankov regime were what it claims to be — a democratic regime, then its leading men would have drawn the conclusions from this election and would have been compelled to adopt a policy of reconciliation. It is true that the government, some months after this election, granted an amnesty, and that the Prime Minister, Zankov, even to-day emphasises at every interview he has with press representatives that the government, by issuing an amnesty decree, has given all emigrants the possibility of returning to Bulgaria. It is sufficient for any impartial reader, however, to cast a glance at the amnesty Decree which is reproduced in the appendix to this pamphlet (see Appendix I.) in order to recognise what sort of document this alleged amnesty decree really is. The decree is so drawn up that only murderers of communists and peasants and common criminals are included in it, while political emigrants are given no opportunity of returning home — unless they wish to hazard their lives and their liberty. This amnesty decree is a mere sham. And as a matter of fact, it has happened that Emigrants who, on this strength of this decree, have returned to their native homes have been immediately arrested, and some of them have been strangled in prison.

Instead, therefore, of following a policy of conciliation, the government only increased its terror. The economic crisis in the country grew, the prices of all articles of food jumped up enormously, the reparation burdens and the screw of taxation became more and more unendurable and the discontent of the masses grew correspondingly. The liberal groups of the bourgeoisie and the social democrats one by one withdrew from the government, because they did not wish to be responsible any longer for a system that was bound to lead to a catastrophe.

Thus the government remained entirely in the hands of a few professors and a military camarilla, which, devoid of all responsibility, is directly aiming at an open and unlimited dictatorship. In pursuance of this aim the government introduced the law for the defence of the State. On reading this document one can say without fear of exaggeration, that this law puts everything that has been experienced up to now in this sphere in the shade. According to this law (see Appendix 2) any member of a party which aims at the violent alteration of the form of government or at the overthrow of the government is liable to capital punishment. A member of such a party cannot occupy any official position. Whoever renders help to such a person or who holds any intercourse with him which justifies the suspicion of his having rendered help, is liable to the same punishment.

One knows how elastic are the clauses of acts of parliament and how easily any opposition party can be accused of aiming at a violent overthrow. This law, therefore, means in practice that the opposition is completely silenced. If opponents are deprived of all possibility of expressing their opinions through the press, if the organs of the peasants and the communists are prohibited, then of course there exists only one opinion and one will.

The law for the defence of the State and for gagging the press was soon followed by the dissolution of the trade unions and of the co-operative societies („Osvobojenie“), which latter comprise 67,795 members, 140 commercial concerns and 400 branches. These organisations were declared to be dissolved and their funds and property, amounting to several million Leva, confiscated by the government.

By the dissolution of the trade unions, — an act the like of which one can look for in vain in any other country — the working class were deprived of their strongest supports in their daily struggles and robbed of the right of combination which they had won in the course of years of wearisome struggle. As the trade unions constitute the organisations for the spreading of culture and education, as well as the guarantee for the protection of labour and social political measures, and as, in addition, they serve as the main point of support for the maintenance of the eight hour day, this unwarranted measure of the government dealt the severest blow to the working class; this was all the more so as the trade unions are quite non-political organisations and the fight against them could not even be regarded as a fight against Communism. The aim of the government in dissolving the trade unions appears to have been a two-fold one: first the working class were to be handed over defenceless to the employers, and secondly, this measure was probably intended for provocative purposes. But, as the memorandum of the trade unions (see appendix 3) rightly points out, by this arbitrary act of the government the struggle between the employers and the workers will not cease but will assume far sharper, because illegal, forms.

The case is similar with the workers' co-operative society „Osvobojenie“. As a consumers' co-operative society could not possibly constitute a danger to the State and its dissolution could not be considered as a means of defence against the bolshevist danger, it is quite obvious that it was intended to rob the working class of one of its strongest positions in the interest of private trade. This has been recognised by the International Co-operative Alliance, embracing all countries and including 40 million families, which has made the strongest protest against this arbitrary act of the Bulgarian government. The protest, however, did not have the least result and the dissolution of the consumers co-operatives remains an accomplished fact.

#### IV. Terror.

It is quite understandable that such measures on the part of the government created the greatest bitterness among the population. And as to this economic enslavement there was added an enormous burden of taxation, increase in prices and a sinking of real wages as a result of the depreciation of the Leva — on the overthrow of the Stambolisky government the Leva fell by 50% on the foreign exchanges —, the government was compelled, if it did not wish to follow a policy of conciliation nor to give place to another government which would work in this direction, to increase the terror more and more. But to increase the terror politically was an impossibility, as, with the throttling of the press, the prohibition of meetings and the law for the defence of the State, the political pressure had already reached its highest point. The decisive blow against the political opponents was to consist this time in the extermination of all their leaders.

It has already been pointed out that in Bulgaria there are a great number of Macedonians who have fled from the Greek and Yugoslavian parts of Macedonia. Their number amounts to several hundred thousand, and the majority of them are organised on military lines. With the help of these Macedonians, the Zankov government was able to seize power on June 9th, and finally to succeed in holding down the broad masses of the people.

It gradually began to penetrate into the heads of a portion of the Macedonians and their leaders, that they would not in this way reach their aim of liberating and uniting Macedonia, and that they were not being given the most agreeable work in the service of the Zankov government. This idea spread more and more. Even the moderate leader of the Macedonians, Todor Alexandrov, began to forsake the Zankov government and to seek new ways.

No sooner however, did it appear to the Zankov government that Alexandrov and his followers were no longer reliable, when suddenly, in August 1924, there took place the murder of Alexandrov. This murder was the signal for a general attack against those elements among the Macedonians who were not agreeable to the government. Under the pretext that the Macedonians wanted to take vengeance for their murdered leader, the Macedonian General Protigerev, who was given full powers by the government, carried out in September 1924 a blood bath among those Macedonians who were discontented with the policy followed hitherto, which was quite equal to the bloodshed in September 1923.

In connection with this there was commenced a general offensive against the leaders of all opposition parties. Since September scarcely a day has passed without one of the leaders and functionaries of the opposition parties, bourgeois radical, communist, and Peasants' League, being murdered upon the open street by „unknown persons“. In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian government has a sufficient police and gendarmerie, the government organs have scarcely ever succeeded in capturing the murderers. This is all the more remarkable as the

majority of cases of this sort take place in broad daylight in the open street.

These murders, as is to be seen from the letters (see appendix 4) contained in the appendix, and the genuineness of which is beyond question, were systematically organised by the government. But it was by no means satisfied with exterminating the opposition leaders to be found in the country, but sent vile murderers abroad in order to get rid of opponents who had fled to other countries. This was proved at the time of the trial which took place in Prague of the murderer of Daskalov, the former Bulgarian Ambassador in Prague.

It is quite understandable that in this atmosphere of murder some of the government leaders were also murdered. This furnished the government with the desired pretext in order to destroy the last remnants of legal party activity of its political opponents. As there were no more communist members of parliament left alive, the government this time proceeded against the next undesirable group of the opposition. It introduced an Exceptional Law, in accordance with which any persons who are in the least suspected of sympathising with Communism are to be removed from parliament and to a certain extent declared to be outlawed.

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## V. The Attempt upon the Life of the King, the Explosion in the Cathedral and their Consequences.

The situation in Bulgaria about the middle of April this year, immediately before the attempt upon the life of the king and the explosion in the Cathedral, may be described somewhat as follows:

The broad masses of the people are deprived of all possibility of legal struggle. The workers and peasants have been robbed of their political and economic organisations, the Consumers' Co-operatives and Trade Unions. All legal activity and all political and defensive measures by legal means are impossible. More than 20,000 men and women, among them the very flower of the intellectuals, some thousands of teachers, lawyers, doctors and clergymen, as is proved by the Order of the War Minister (this Order was issued long before the explosion in the cathedral), reproduced in the Appendix (see appendix 5), have been slaughtered, not in the heat of the fight, but systematically and in cold blood according to a deliberate plan. On what a scale and at what a rate murders have been taking place in recent times is shown by a list of murders, covering a short period, contained in the Appendix (see appendix 6). Thousands and thousands are living in emigration, while countless others have been driven from house and home and are leading a wretched existence as outlaws in the mountains. In addition to this the number of those who are pining in prison is very considerable.

It is obvious that such a regime must lead to a disaster. This, of course, could not be hidden from king Boris and, anxious for his throne and the future of the dynasty, he endeavoured, as it is to be seen from his letters directed to peasant leaders living in Yugoslavia, to get into contact with opposition elements in order to form a concentration cabinet and to bring about a milder regime. These plans of the king were opposed by the members of the Zankov government, especially by the Minister of the Interior, General Russev, and the Minister for War General Vikov.

Is it not somewhat remarkable that the government, some days before the attack upon the king, „discovered“ a communist conspiracy which, according to the confiscated „documents“, aimed at starting a revolution on the 15th of April? A revolutionary mood therefore prevails in the country. And in spite of this, the king is so foolhardy as to undertake a motor drive beyond the confines of the town on the very day preceding the announced „revolution“: and he incurs the results of this foolhardiness.

The assumption put forward by people in political circles, that the attack upon the king was deliberately engineered in order to cause him to abandon his plans for a milder regime, appears perfectly credible in this connection and cannot be rejected off hand.

But if the king, from whom it was impossible to hide the true feeling prevailing in the country, could have an interest, on dynastic grounds, in introducing a milder regime, the Generals possessed no such interest. They wanted by means of this attack, in the first place, to induce the king to abandon his intention to bring in a more moderate regime, or — what is still more probable — should the attack succeed and the king be killed, to fulfil their longing to establish a Regency according to the Hungarian pattern.

The explosion in the Cathedral can only be explained as the expression of an exasperated and completely suppressed people, who have been driven to desperation. Such means are adopted by men who have nothing more to lose, over whose heads there hangs the sword of the executioner, who have no possibility of obtaining redress by any other means. This opinion is also expressed in the statements made by the English members of parliament who recently visited Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian government is endeavouring by direct and indirect means to cast the blame for this attack upon foreign powers. Even if, as the Bulgarian government politicians maintain, foreign powers are interested in inciting unrest in Bulgaria, no reasonable man can assume that statesmen would resort to such means as explosions and bomb outrages. For every statesman knows that such bomb outrages rather have the effect of strengthening the position of the government, and thus achieve the very opposite of what they aim at. No, the explosion in the Cathedral is only the result of continuous suppression and the complete enslavement of the people, the result of an unexampled terror, which exceeds everything experienced hitherto.

The Bulgarian government, instead of drawing the conclusions from the terrible occurrence in the Cathedral, and adopting a conciliatory policy and working for a milder regime, made use of the event in order to institute a mass slaughter throughout the whole country, for which it had long ago made preparations. For, as is to be seen from the secret Order issued by the War Minister (see appendix 5), this pogrom set in on a fearful scale immediately after the explosion, and is by no means the consequence of the explosion. The explosion much rather provided the desired pretext.

And in fact it is no longer a question of exterminating leading political opponents; here it is a question of the complete physical annihilation of all persons suspected of Communism. Those who in the least stand in the way of the plans of the generals — regardless as to whether they are communists, bourgeois radicals or members of the Peasants' League, or whether they play a role in public life or not — are ruthlessly slaughtered. Thus, for example, there was recently reported the murder of Josef Herbst, a bourgeois journalist, a man who certainly had nothing in common with Communism. He was murdered solely because he had ventured to write an article which was not agreeable to the government!

On the 22nd April, six days after the commencement of the general slaughter by the fascists and hirelings of the government, reports were received in foreign countries that the number of the arrested had already reached 30,000 and that of the murdered 4000. The Bulgarian government hastened to deny this report, declaring that up till then „only“ 1500 had been arrested and a smaller number murdered „while trying to escape or offering resistance“. Since this denial even the official Bulgarian telegraph agency has daily reported new arrests, further shootings and the clearing out of nests of communists. One can therefore gain some idea of what is now taking place in Bulgaria. The statements of the English members of parliament who were in Sofia during the critical days are of a shocking character. We give here the statement they made to a number of Press representatives:

„It is our firm conviction, and we say this after careful consideration, that the outrage in the cathedral was immediately provoked by the methods of the government, by their violent proceedings against the opposition, who are regarded as standing outside the law, by the murders and by the suppression of the press. During the last two years scarcely a week has passed without a leader of the communists or of the Peasants' League being murdered. According to independent opinion in Bulgaria, the Military League, which actually has the government in Bulgaria in its hands, is responsible for this crime.

We have used every conceivable influence in order to induce the government to restrain the militarists from carrying out a blood bath among the men and women of their own country who have fallen into the hands of the authorities as a result of the recent arrests. Whoever is in the least way suspected of holding communist views or belonging to the Left Wing of the Socialist Party is imprisoned. On Monday, that is four days after the commencement of the arrests, we saw forty

arrested persons executed by the Police Prefecture within the space of five minutes. It is, of course, impossible to ascertain exactly the number of those arrested, but it is said that up to the present there are more than 6,000 persons under arrest. After hearing numerous reports we have arrived at the conviction that many of these persons have been killed simply upon suspicion, and without any trial. Public opinion outside of Bulgaria must insist that, in the name of Justice, all those arrested be given a trial and that innocent persons should not be killed on mere suspicion. It is impossible that 6,000 persons, or even more, could have been involved in the outrage in the cathedral!\*)

The English members of Parliament who describe the situation in Bulgaria in the above manner are certainly above any suspicion of sympathising with Communism. And all that they describe regarding the cruel acts following on the explosion — 6000 arrests and arbitrary executions — all this took place within a period of scarcely three days, and relates mainly to the capital, Sofia. What then must be happening in the provinces! How savagely the military brutes who have been let loose upon the unarmed population must be behaving there!

What is the real object of this fearful slaughter? What is the blindly raging military camarilla aiming at? Its plans are fairly obvious to everybody who considers the matter somewhat more closely; especially if one takes into consideration those reports, which are not devoid of foundation, according to which the King is a prisoner of the Minister of War Vikov, and of the City Commander, Lazarov. It is clear that the King, anxious for the existence of the dynasty, is endeavouring to introduce a milder regime, whilst the higher generals are openly working for a military dictatorship.

These plans of ambitious officers are being promoted by a shameless foreign press and its irresponsible correspondents. Especially monstrous in this connection is the attitude of the Vienna „Neue Freie Presse“, the London „Times“ and the Paris „Temps“. For shamelessness, cynicism and lying, the reports of their correspondents exceed by a long way the reports of the official Bulgarian Telegraph Agency. One only needs to compare them with the objective statements of the English members of parliament in order to realise the game that is being played here. This Press and its correspondents are jointly responsible for the fearful cruelties in Bulgaria.

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\*) Retranslated from the German.

## VII. What is to be done?

Supported by a shameless press, murders have been carried out in Bulgaria in the most shameless manner for the past two years; thousands of innocent people have been killed in the course of the last few days. In Bulgaria, supported by the foreign diplomats — the Council of Ambassadors have given permission for the Bulgarian army to be increased by 10,000 men — there is raging a terror which exceeds everything that has been experienced up to now. In addition to this, this increase of the military forces carries with it the danger of war complications, as the neighbouring states are hardly likely to look calmly on while military power is restored in Bulgaria.

It is the duty of all right-thinking men and women, of all intellectuals, writers, workers and peasants, to exert all their energies in order to put a stop to the vile murders. The whole press, in so far as it is not in the service of the band of murderers, must work in this sense.

If a people is to be saved from destruction, if the danger of new wars are to be avoided, then the present regime in Bulgaria must disappear and give place to a free democratic regime.

Only think: In fascist Italy there is a legal Communist Party and a Communist Party Fraction, and even in counter-revolutionary Hungary there exist the free trade unions and the consumers' co-operatives. If the workers in Bulgaria are given back their organisations, their Trade Unions, their consumers' co-operatives and the right of combination, the danger of fresh explosions, of new war complications will disappear. The life of a people, the order of a country and the peace of a people are at stake. It is therefore the duty of the whole of cultured Europe, of all humane men and women and of the free press, to demand that the government of Zankov, the government of terror and of mass murders, give place to a free democratic government.

# Appendix. Documents.

## Appendix I.

### The Amnesty Law.

Article 1. An amnesty is granted in respect of the following criminal acts committed in the period from 11th April 1921 to 31st December 1923:

a) High Treason: Art. 99, 102 and 105 of the criminal code.

b) Crimes against the authorities: art. 138—145, 149—159, 154, 226 clause 3 and 266 clause 3 of the criminal code.

c) Crimes against the public order: art. 172—176 and 188—189 of the criminal code.

d) Crimes committed by postal and telegraphic officials and railway workers during the strikes in the year 1919/1920, with the exception of crimes committed for personal ends and in so far as the crimes do not consist in the destruction of railway, telegraph and telephone lines.

e) The crime of concealing the names of persons who have committed the above crimes for which the amnesty is granted (art. 340 of the criminal code).

Article 2. Chief culprits in the following crimes (except in so far as they are persons under age) are excluded from this amnesty:

a) Those who have ordered, instigated or advocated the carrying out of crimes mentioned in Art. 1 clauses 1, 2 and 3.

b) The leaders of the fighting groups and the members of the committees of actions which have participated in crimes mentioned in Art. 1, clauses 1, 2 and 3.

c) The members of the central, provincial, district and local committees which have taken part in crimes mentioned in Art. 1, clauses 1, 2 and 3.

d) Those who have immediately participated in the execution of the crimes mentioned in Art. 1, clauses 1, 2 and 3, or in murdering, plundering or violation. (Article 220 of the criminal code.)

e) Those who occupied an official position at the time of the carrying out of crimes mentioned in Art. 1, clauses 1, 2 and 3, that is from the 8th of June onwards.

Article 3. The criminal proceedings against persons mentioned in article 2, clauses a, b, c and d, on account of crimes mentioned in Art. 1, clauses 1, 2 and 3, are discontinued; the trials which are now proceeding, remain in the same position as they were on the day of the coming into force of this Act.

The carrying out of sentences which are already in force, against such persons and for such acts, are deferred.

If within the space of three years from the coming into force of this Act, criminal proceedings are instituted against these persons on account of crimes of a general character, according to the criminal code or

according to the Law for the Defence of the State, and should these proceedings end with a sentence of hard labour or other severe penalty, then the proceedings which have been discontinued will be resumed and the deferred sentence will be carried out without fixing a general penalty for the two trials. Otherwise, after the expiration of the above-mentioned period, the terms of the amnesty shall come into force.

The following persons, in so far as they are not invalids who have lost 50% of their working capacity, are excluded from the provisions of this Article:  
a) Members of the central bodies of the parties and unions: b) the members of the XIX. and XX. Parliaments; c) the higher officials (those who do not come under the wage scale for officials), the provincial and district leaders and chiefs of police.

Note: The extremest measure against the danger of the absconding of persons for whom, in accordance with this Article, the carrying out of sentences have been deferred, is the Caution.

Art. 4. Persons coming within this amnesty who are at present abroad will be excluded from it in the event of their not returning by the 1st June 1924.

Art. 5. An amnesty is granted in respect of all acts coming within the general or the military penal code, which have been committed by the organs of the government or by private persons for or in connection with the restoration of order or the defence of the regime of 9th June 1923, or in connection with the suppression of insurrections in the period from 9th June to the 31st December 1923.

Art. 6. An amnesty is granted in respect of all punishable acts on the part of the military authorities in the period from 10th June 1915 to the 1st of December 1918, in so far as they were not committed for individual ends and not against the interests of the State.

Art. 7. An amnesty is granted in respect of all acts which are punishable under the Law of the 12th October 1922 for the Liberation of the People and the Law of 13th February 1923 for the Condemnation of Ministers and the Law of the 5th February 1924 for the amendment and extension of the law for condemning and punishing those responsible for the public catastrophe.

Art. 8. All crimes of a general character according to Arts. 120, 124 and 236 which have been committed up to the 30th December are amnestied.

Art. 9. All punishable acts under the Rent Law of 1917 are amnestied.

Art. 10. The Amnesty cancels all claims and demands based on rights arising from acts which have been committed during the events and insurrections from the 8th June to 31st December 1923 which are amnestied under this law and those coming under Art. 5 of this law.

## Appendix II.

### Amendments to the Law for the Defence of the State.

The Bulgarian Parliament, on the 24th of February this year, passed the Bill for the Amendment of the Law for the Defence of the State. The new paragraphs of this law are as follows:

§ 1. Art. 1 is amended as follows:

All organisations and groups which aim at changing the order of Society laid down by the Constitution, or at the violent seizure of power, or which in order to achieve this aim, resort to crimes, acts of violence or terror, are prohibited. All organisations and groups are likewise prohibited which render material support to the above-mentioned organisations.

§ 2. Art. II is amended as follows:

The organisers and members of such groups and organisations are liable to the following punishments: their founders and organisers to imprisonment with hard labour for at least 10 years and a fine of 50,000 to 500,000 Leva; their members to five to ten years imprisonment with hard labour and a fine from 50,000 to 200,000 Leva.

§ 4. Art. II. (§ 5 of the old law) is amended as follows:

Members of organisations and groups who support such groups and organisations as are mentioned in §§ 1 and 2 of the Bill will be exempted from all punishment if they communicate with the authorities for the purpose of exposing such organisations to the police.

§ 6 is amended as follows:

Persons who conduct oral or written propaganda by the issue of literature etc., or who carry on an agitation for the overthrow of the political and economic regime by crimes, acts of violence or terrorist undertakings, are liable to a term of imprisonment of at least five years and a fine of 50,000 to 500,000 Leva.

§ 7 is amended as follows:

Any person who, by speech or writing or by means of printed matter, stirs up hate and hostility between the various classes and thereby endangers peace and security, is liable to 3 to 8 years imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 to 300,000 Leva.

§ 10. Art. VIII. Art II of the old law is amended as follows:

Any person damaging or destroying war material, railway lines, telegraphs, telephones, water supply, electrical works, public buildings and dwelling houses, or who destroys and damages food products, is liable to capital punishment or life long imprisonment and 200,000 to 500,000 Leva fine.

§ 12 (§ 13 of the old law) is amended as follows:

All those who leave their homes and enter a partisan detachment, who take up arms and threaten the security of the State and of Society, of public or private property, institutions and private undertakings, or who endanger the lives of official or private persons, are liable to capital punishment.

All persons who conceal or harbour members of such bands, or render them support are liable to capital punishment.

§ 13. Art. X. (§ 14 of the old law) is amended as follows:

All those having connections with persons, groups or organisations abroad, having as their object the carrying out of crimes mentioned in the §§ 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13, as well as all those who support organisations, groups or persons abroad, whose activity is directed against the State Order and the security of Society, are liable to imprisonment for at least 5 years and a fine of 50,000 to 300,000 Leva.

§ 19. Art XV. (§ 20 of the old law) is amended:

All those who belong to organisations, groups, or their sections which are forbidden under this law, or are adherents of Communism or Anarchism and

hold views regarding the alteration of the social and political order, cannot be employed in any public institution, district or municipal body, or be members of parliament or of any autonomous organisation. The chiefs of the departments tolerating such persons will be subject to disciplinary measures.

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## Appendix III.

### Memorandum

of the Bulgarian Trade Unions to all political parties and professional organisations of the country, to the Supreme Court of Justice, to Parliament, to all Parliamentary Fractions, to all Members of Parliament and to all workers and employees.

#### The Activity of the Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

For the past month the working class of Bulgaria have been greatly disturbed. Their right of combination, which they won 50 years ago and which was recognised by the Constitution of the country, is endangered. This unrest is expressed in the hundreds of resolutions and protests which are received every day by the Ministry of the Interior, because the latter has refused its assent to the Statutes of various Trade Unions which were submitted to it two months ago, and has even threatened to dissolve these Trade Unions. The Trade Unions have always been the true guardians of the interests of the working class. They are the most precious possession the working class has, because it is only thanks to these Unions that the workers and employees, from being despised slaves, have become citizens with full rights. By means of struggles, lasting for decades, the Trade Unions have brought about a number of improvements in the position of the working class and have supported thousands of unemployed, sick and destitute workers etc. In proof of this we give the following data:

During the last four years (1919—1922) the Trade Unions have provided support to 109,644 striking workers with 2,778,753 Leva. They have paid out 772,753 Leva for the support of 8200 sick, injured and unemployed workers. The Trade Unions have carried on an extensive cultural and educational activity. They have enabled many illiterate workers to learn to read and write and made them acquainted with the most elementary principles of hygiene etc. This activity has caused the workers to be very loyal to the Trade Unions and they react with great energy when the existence of the Trade Unions is threatened.

In standing up in defence of the workers, the Trade Unions work in a positive manner in the interest of the workers. They consider it to be in the interest of the development of production to protect labour power from exhaustion, degeneration and decline. On the other hand, the Trade Unions are the boldest champions for the carrying out of labour legislation. Factory inspection has been largely the result of the demands of the Trade Unions. Without the control of the Trade Unions the laws for the protection of labour would only have remained on paper.

### The Statutes of the Trade Unions.

The Constitution and the laws of the country guarantee the Trade Unions the right of combination, without any control. Contrary to the Constitution and contrary to the laws, the Ministry of the Interior has issued instructions that all Trade Unions shall submit their statutes to it for ratification. The Trade Unions accordingly submitted their statutes to the Ministry for Trade, Industry and Labour. The latter only assented to the statutes of the Leather Workers' Union and of the Printers' Union. The remaining statutes were sent to the Ministry of the Interior for ratification. Months have passed since then, and the statutes have not yet been ratified. Every day workers' deputations have visited the Ministry of the Interior in order to learn whether the statutes have been accepted by the Ministry or not. Finally, the workers were informed that the statutes of their Unions could not be accepted, because, according to the Law for the Defence of the State, they belonged to the Trade Union Federation, which has been dissolved, and because some members of the Executive Committee are communists. The Union of the Clerks has received an official letter to this effect.

### The Decision of the Supreme Court of Justice.

It is true that the above mentioned Trade Unions are affiliated collectively to the dissolved Trade Union Federation. But under the judgment of the Supreme Court of Justice, only the Trade Union Federation was dissolved, and not the individual Trade Unions. The Trade Union Federation is an independent organisation with its own statutes, its own congress and its own central leadership and can, if it thinks fit, affiliate or disaffiliate to various national and international Trade Union organisations.

Thus the Waiters' and Cooks Trade Union existed as an independent body for twenty years and it was only in 1919 that it affiliated to the Trade Union Federation. The Transport workers' Union, which from the time of its formation up to 1920 was affiliated to the Trade Union Federation, disaffiliated after the decision of its congress. The Union of Officials and Teachers affiliated to the Trade Union Federation in 1919, but withdrew from it the next year. If the various Unions were only organisation sections of the Trade Union Federation, how could they have been able to affiliate or disaffiliate just as they pleased? On the other hand, all Trade Unions, already in October 1922, that is long before the enactment of the law for the Defence of the State, issued declarations that they had severed all connections with the C. P. of Bulgaria. After the dissolution of the Trade Union Federation, they made a similar declaration with regard to the last named body and declared that they existed independently. In accordance with this they made the appropriate corrections in their statutes. Moreover, the Printers' Union has united with the printers' group which is under the influence of the government party.

It is clear to every right-thinking person that the Unions were not sub-sections of the Trade Union Federation, but were only collective members of the same. The decision of the Supreme Court of Justice regarding the organisations in question (C. P. of Bulgaria, Trade Union Federation, Co-operative etc.) does not permit of any other interpretation. It is expressly stated in this decision, that the C. P. of Bulgaria with its sub-branches, the Young Communist League, the Co-operative Society „O“ and the Trade Union Federation are dissolved. If the various Trade Unions had really been sub-sections of the dissol-

ved Trade Union Federation, their names would have been mentioned in the decision. But no Trade Union was mentioned. But if it had sufficed to say that the C. P. of Bulgaria and its sub-sections are dissolved, without expressly enumerating the sub-divisions, and to leave it to the administrative organs to decide what is meant by these sub-divisions, then in such a case it would have been superfluous to mention the Young Communist League, the Co-operative Society „O“ and the Trade Union Federation.

That the decisions of the Supreme Court of Justice are to be interpreted in this manner is best shown by the existence of the Trade Unions which have existed quite legally since the dissolution of the Trade Union Federation. In certain towns the officials have permitted the Unions to convene open meetings. They carry on wage struggles, have their own organs, offices etc. If the Unions were dissolved, they would not be permitted to hold meetings. We must here emphasise another important fact: If the Trade Unions are really dissolved, why has the Ministry for Trade and Industry ratified the statutes of the Leather Workers' Union and was also prepared to ratify the others; and why then the divergent interpretation of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Justice by two members of the Cabinet? Is the Ministry of the Interior the most competent body to decide questions of law?

#### **The Statutes must be Ratified!**

Can those who accuse the Trade Unions of acting as a cloak for the C. P. of Bulgaria point to a single example where the acceptance of a worker who belongs to a bourgeois party, has been refused because he is not a communist? The Waiters and Cooks' Union, as well as the others belong to the Trade Union Federation. The first-named has a national liberal president, while the president of the latter belongs to the government party. These facts show that the Trade Unions are not a cloak for the C. P. of Bulgaria. In the Trade Unions every worker is admitted and he can become secretary or president, if he shows talent for organisation and activity and submits to and carries out the Trade Union statutes and the congress decisions. Outside of the Trade Union he can belong to any party he pleases.

#### **The Acts of Violence against the Trade Unions.**

That it is the intention of the Minister of the Interior to dissolve the Trade Unions is to be seen from his attitude towards them. We publish some facts which characterise the hostility and the hatred of the government against the Trade Unions, especially when they represent the true interests of the workers and employees. Since June 1924 up to the present day, the Trade Unions have been deprived of the right to convene meetings. Meetings can only take place after the previous permission of the police has been obtained, and subject to their direct control. Even the participants in one of these meetings of employees in Sofia were arrested. The records and property of the Trade Unions have been confiscated. The functionaries of the Trade Unions are arrested, interned, persecuted. Thus, for example, the secretary of the textile workers' union, H. Dantcheff, was arrested and dragged from one prison to another. After several months of imprisonment he succeeded, two months ago, in obtaining his release against a surety of 10.000 Levas. His sole crime was that, at the request of his organisation, he made a journey to Russia. In the meantime he has been again arrested without any cause whatever.

The Trade Union press is likewise persecuted and confiscated by the authorities.

In the wage-struggles of the workers the police have always sided with the capitalists. We will not go into details here regarding the interference of the police and the army against the striking dock workers in Varna, against the locked-out workers from the sugar factories in Gorna, Orechovitza and Philippopolis, against the striking textile workers in Sliven and Haskovo, where the local commander threatened to regard the strikers as common robbers and to have them all immediately arrested.

#### The Misery of the Workers.

What is the result of the government's policy towards the Trade Unions? The eight hour day has been abolished in 90% of the factories and workshops. Wages have not been increased, on the contrary they are being reduced in spite of the daily increase of prices. Bread has risen from 3.50 Leva per kg. to 10.50 per kg. The cost of living is forty times as dear as before the war. The workers' wages, however, are only fifteen times higher than before the war. The employers are taking advantage of the enormous unemployment in order to reduce wages, lengthen the working day, to worsen the working conditions and to tread under foot the laws for the protection of Labour. The women and children are exposed to fearful exploitation.

It is only the Trade Unions that can improve the conditions of the workers and employees. If this sole means which the workers have for defending their interests is taken from them, the working class will be handed over to absolute slavery and the most fearful misery.

#### Organised Struggle, or Acts of Terror?

As a result of the dissolution and persecution of Trade Unions, the road of legal struggle is barred for the workers. It is ridiculous to think that if there were no Trade Unions the struggle between the employers and the workers would cease. On the contrary, the struggle would still be carried on by the workers with such means as would still be open to them. Without the Trade Unions the workers' struggles would be nothing else than a series of excesses and acts of violence.

We once again emphasise that the assertion of many official circles and government newspapers, that behind the Trade Unions there stood the Communist Party, is absolutely untrue. The records and the statutes of the Trade Unions are in the hands of the authorities. Let them bring forward a single fact or a document which will go to show that the Trade Unions took any part in the September revolt or in any kind of illegal work since the revolt. The 35,000 workers organised in the Trade Unions and the hundreds of thousands of sympathising workers and peasants, — men, women and children—exhausted by exploitation, who go hungry in rags, are raising their voices in protest against the destruction of the right of combination of the working people, against the suppression of the labour press, of meetings, of wage-struggles etc.

We know beforehand that the responsible officials will deny that they are strangling the Trade Union movement. They will call attention to the full freedom, and even the support, which the government gives to the „social-democratic trade unions“. We declare that the working masses spurn these Trade Unions, and that neither the workers organised with us nor the unorganised

workers will enter these Trade Unions, because they only pursue a social democratic party policy. This was openly asserted at the last congress of the social democrats.

The Trade Unions address this appeal to parliament and to all political parties, to all cultural and economic organisations and to the press, and expect from the Bulgarian working class that it will adopt a plain and unequivocal attitude to the great social question: the right of combination of the workers and employees; whether the workers have a right to their Trade Unions which have existed for twenty five years.

To the workers and employees we address the following appeal: Continue the struggle with still greater energy and tenacity until our rights are restored.

Sofia, 3rd November 1924.

For the Metal Workers Union . . . . .	N. Petroff,
„ „ Tobacco Workers „ . . . . .	G. Wangeloff,
„ „ Wood Workers „ . . . . .	G. Dodoff,
„ „ Tailors „ . . . . .	St. Maximoff,
„ „ Leather Workers „ . . . . .	M. Stajkoff,
„ „ Union of Employees . . . . .	G. Christoff,
„ „ „ Food Workers . . . . .	M. Stephanoff,
„ „ Miners' Union . . . . .	M. Stojanoff,
„ „ Building Workers Union . . . . .	B. Christofi,
„ „ Land Workera „ . . . . .	A. Boyadschief,
and „ „ Hairdressers „ . . . . .	N. Ircholiyef.

## Appendix IV.

### The Murders by the Bulgarian Government.

We print below a letter which clearly reveals the facts, and the authenticity of which we are able to guarantee. The importance of the letter becomes all the more apparent when one remembers that M. Stantchev (residing at Philippopolis, Bulgaria, Philipp-Makedonsky street 32) is known in Bulgaria as one who carries out assassinations on behalf of the Prime Minister Zankov, General Volkov and General Protogerov. The Addressee of this letter is Dr. Stoilov, formerly the Bulgarian Ambassador in Vienna, but at present occupying a post in the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome.

„Dear Stoilov.

Thank you very much for the letter and the books; it is, however, very hard to understand. The storms by day and night have begun I was very glad to hear that the betrayer of Bulgaria, the scoundrel Tchaulev<sup>1)</sup> has been got rid of. I am almost convinced that the same will also happen

1) Tchaulev, member of the Central Committee of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation, leader of the Left wing of the same and opponent of the policy of Zankov. As a result of this he was murdered by agents who were sent to Milan by the Zankov government.

with Dimitrov<sup>2</sup>). He is at present in Rome. I cannot sleep so long as he remains alive. Once he is dead I shall be able to die in peace. I shall never forget the unfortunate people who are suffering in the hell of Soviet Russia. I have begun to keep a watch over our communists and can now boast that in a short time the entire central committee of our communists will be in my hands. Dr. Maximoff<sup>3</sup>) is surrounded by reliable people, but we hope to arrest him, as well as the member of parliament Kosturkov<sup>4</sup>). Yesterday I was with Lazarov<sup>5</sup>) in his house and there learned that Vlachov<sup>6</sup>) and Charlakov<sup>7</sup>) have fled to Soviet Russia. We shall send people there tomorrow in order to finish them off as well as Kolarov<sup>8</sup>). Lambreff Kaspar started for London two weeks ago in order to get rid of Krstju<sup>9</sup>) — the greatest evil. He has done enough mischief to us. Something is bound to happen to him in any event. I much regret that Z<sup>10</sup>) is not satisfied with me. Formerly he always reproached me that I was too dilatory in settling with our traitors. Now I have received credit and permission. A thousand thanks for the information from Rome regarding Jureneff<sup>11</sup>), Scheftle, Alexeyev, Dobroljuboff, Katz, Usurbekov, Lebedev, Rubanovitch and Trubnikov. Will you please continue the same work. You need not trouble about money, everything will be paid. Please telegraph me at once regarding Aussem<sup>12</sup>). You will know him from Vienna (he is now in Paris). Who knows him by sight? I should be very glad if you would send to me in Milan the photos of the agents of the Soviet Mission. Kolju (Nikolaus) will arrive in Sofia in 8 or 10 days. Please do something for Naples. Dobrol-

2) Dimitrov Georgi, member of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria and of the Presidium of the Balkan Communist Federation.

3) Dr. Maximoff, Communist member of the Bulgarian parliament who was arrested by the government on a charge of inciting to rebellion, but was acquitted by the Court.

4) Kosturkov, leader of the bourgeois-radical Party, a decided opponent of Communism, but opposed to the methods of violence and the political murders carried out by the Zankov government.

5) Lazaroff, General Commander of the Sofia garrison and one of the „heroes“ in the putch of 9th June 1923.

6) Vlachov, foreign representative of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation and up till recently Bulgarian Consul in Vienna. Owing to his opposition to the methods of Zankov he was removed from his position and condemned to death by the government's murder organisation.

7) Charlakov, up till recently editor of „La Federation Balcanique“ which stood for the independence of the Macedonian movement from the Bulgarian and Balkan bourgeoisie.

8) Kolarov, member of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Bulgaria and of the Executive of the Communist International.

9) Krstju Rakovsky, representative of the Soviet Union in London, who energetically advocated the independence and freedom of Macedonia, and at the same time exposed the game of the Bulgarian government with regard to the cause of the Macedonians.

10) Z. This refers to Zankov.

11) Jureneff, Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Rome.

12) Aussem, up till recently Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Vienna.

jubov often stays there. Where does he lodge? This interests W.<sup>13)</sup> very much. I send you 8000 Lire for January and February for the purpose of carrying on the work. The Cheque is on the Bank of Rome.

With a thousand greetings

M. Stantchev."

In addition we give a further letter which is addressed from the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome to the Foreign Ministry in Sofia. It is signed by the Bulgarian Ambassador himself.

„Bulgarian Embassy in Rome.

24th January 1925.

No. 186/2.

To the Foreign Ministry in Sofia.

The arrival of Dimitrov in Milan after the murder of Tchaulev, as well as the previous meeting between him and the latter at Palestro street No. 3 where Tchaulev lived, proves beyond doubt Dimitrov's connection with the Soviet Mission. The observations which I have made in Milan over Tchaulev, absolutely proves the participation of the Soviet Mission in Italy in the Bulgarian organisation. The information of the agents regarding the work of Dr. Peneff confirms my opinion still further. We have established connections with Usurbekoff and hope in a short time to expose the work of Jureneff and I hope that . . . the agents in Vienna, who are in touch with Aussem and Rome, will achieve quick and good results.

Ambassador,

Radeff.

Secretary,

Stojanoff.

## Appendix V.

### Secret Order of the Minister for War.

All garrisons and all military units must get into touch with the local committees of the government party for the purpose of combining the fighting forces against the members of the Peasants League and the Communists, against whom the most active measures must be taken, in which before all the intellectuals, the most capable and bravest supporters of these ideas, as well as their followers, must be annihilated. A register of these people must be drawn up in the shortest possible time, so that at the moment when action is taken against them, all the leaders can be killed, regardless as to whether they are guilty or not. In places where disturbances break out, all prisoners, all conspirators, and their helpers, as well as those who

13) W. This refers to General Walkow, Minister of War in the Zankov government, the chief organiser of the political murders of the opponents of the Zankov government and the most reliable tool of Bulgarian monarchism.

conceal them, are to be killed without mercy. The same must be done to their families. Their houses are to be burnt down.

If the insurgents, or those who are living illegally, hide themselves in a building, this — in order that the authorities shall not suffer any losses — shall be set on fire and not taken by assault. The military units must provide themselves with pumps in order to be able to soak such buildings with petroleum.

Notice boards must be made ready bearing the inscription: „General . . . is coming from Sofia, or some other strategical point, with such and such a force of infantry, cavalry and artillery, from another point there is approaching the famous Voyvod . . .“ etc. These must serve to raise the spirits of the government forces and at the same time to demoralise the enemy. These notice boards must be set up before the fronts of the insurgents or their sympathisers. The insurgents are to be publicly executed before the eyes of their sympathisers.

In all the most important details the tactical tasks must be determined in agreement with the officers.

The commanders of garrisons have the right to proclaim Martial Law in the area under their command and to mobilise reliable government supporters. Every captured enemy must be examined and executed within 24 hours. Disobedience on the part of officers will be immediately punished with death. All those who betray any of the contents of this document will be likewise punished with death.

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## Appendix VI.

On the 2nd of January the village of Grades (district Sliven) awoke to find itself surrounded. The whole garrison of the town of Sliven blockaded the village and allowed nobody to appear on the streets. Everywhere, house searches were carried out for weapons, communists living illegally and for illegal literature. Although nothing was found 60 peasants were arrested and terribly ill-treated in the night. Two of the arrested peasants, namely Stantchev and Danail Dimitrov were killed in the neighbourhood of the village while „attempting to escape“.

Two days later the town of Sliven experienced the same fate. The inhabitants of this proletarian town (the textile industry is well developed here) were subjected for the third time to horrible atrocities by the police. A detachment of police and military surrounded a house where, according to the information of the police, illegal persons were in hiding and began to fire at the windows. Two illegal persons who were in the house sought to defend themselves. The house was set on fire by the fire brigade. One of the inmates fled into the adjoining house; the fire brigade set this also on fire and the military continued to shoot until the fire was no longer returned. The two illegal persons were brought out, one of them was quite burnt and pierced by many bullets, the other was severely wounded; the latter was finally despatched, in the street by a bullet in his head. This is the third case in which houses in Sliven have been burnt down in this manner. In connection with this over 30 workers were arrested, ill treated and interned.

At about the same time there was found in the neighbourhood of Sofia the corpse of a girl of 18 years. A string was tied round her neck to which a paper was attached, bearing the words: „Traitor to the country! travellers, spit on her and pass on!

On the 11th January in the village of Dabar (district Borissovgrad) the following persons were arrested, bound with ropes and conveyed to Sofia, without their relatives being told the reason why: Todor Iv. Karaslovov, Angel Athanas Gervasov, Stojtocho Karamanov, Jurdan Genev, Nikola Christosov.

The entire population of the districts of Haskovo and Borissovgrad were declared to be concealers and helpers of the Partisan and robber bands. All the shepherds' huts and the sheepfolds in these districts were burnt down along with all the sheep fodder. The whole district is swarming with police agents and the military, who ravage and devastate the villages worse than the enemy forces during the war. They compel the peasants to supply them daily with such and such a number of hens and eggs, such and such a quantity of butter, cheese and other articles of food. The peasants are compelled to patrol the village at night under command of the police and military. The whole neighbourhood presents the appearance of a military camp, where the military is absolute master. Many peasants are arrested as a result of denunciations and shot while „trying to escape“.

On the 18th of January the police in Sofia attempted to seize two anarchists. The anarchists took refuge in a house and there sought to defend themselves. The building was thereupon surrounded by the military and set on fire, the military meantime firing on the building. The charred corpses of the two anarchists were finally brought out of the house. This is the second time in Sofia in which houses in which revolutionaries hid themselves have been set on fire by the police.

On the 19th of January, in Vratze, 10 former members of the dissolved Communist Party were arrested.

On the 20th of January, in the village of Florosch (district Dupnica), Velitchko Mitov-Grosdanov, a peasant, was shot while „attempting to escape“.

On the 21st of January the police forced an entrance into the college of Sevlievo and arrested 8 pupils on the charge of being members of a secret society.

On the 22nd of January, in the neighbourhood of Pirdop, the corpse of a youth of 18 was found. A slip of paper was fastened to his breast bearing the words: „traitor to the country!“

On the 23rd of January, Todorov, a joiner, was shot by agents of the political police in Sofia. On the same day three other workers were arrested, and after severe mishandling were sent to the prison hospital.

On the 24th of January, George Milew, a writer, was arrested and interned for having written a poetic description of the September revolt and the cruel deeds of the fascist bands.

On the same day shooting took place in Belogradchik as a result of which several persons were killed. The secret police wanted to arrest some „illegal“ persons.

On the 25th January, in Philippopolis, B. Arnandov, a worker, was murdered in the streets by agents of the secret police.

On the same day, in Slivengrad, two persons were found hanging from a tree in the street.

On the same day, in Varna, Kaltchev, the late communist vice-mayor and Boris Mitov, town councillor, were arrested, bound and conveyed to Sofia.

In Provadiya, on the 26th January, Dr. Sparrov, a member of the dissolved Communist Party was arrested and conveyed to Sofia.

On the same day, in Lovetch, Nenov, a communist and municipal councillor, and two members of the Peasants' League were arrested. Those persons who are known to be communists are kept under police control and have to report to the police three times daily.

On the same day, in the village of Velo Konare, Pavel Nikolov, an old man of sixty and a former municipal councillor, was arrested and so severely ill-treated that he died in the police prison.

On the 27th January, in Haskovo, Kirakov, a lawyer, and two workers, Deltchev and Jekov, were arrested and brought to Sofia without either themselves or their relatives being informed of the reason.

On the same day in the village of Maslov (in the neighbourhood of Sofia) seven peasants were arrested and conveyed to Sofia. They were accused of having connections with the Bulgarian emigrants in Jugoslavia.

Four lawyers, Dr. Dyukmediev, Dr. Mevorach, Dr. A. Athanasov and Dr. D. Koytchev who, as defenders of the accused in the trials held on account of the September revolt, come to Lom in order to attend the trial, were attacked in this town by fascist bands, fully supported by the police, and severely mishandled. The telegraphic protests to the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Justice remained unanswered.

At the same time an attempt was made upon the life of the defender of the communist member of parliament, Dr. Maximov. A bomb was thrown into his house which caused great material damage, but by chance did not result in any loss of human life. On the front door of the house a slip of paper was found with the words: „Death to the traitor Dr. Patev!“

On the 28th of January, in Karnobat, six higher schools pupils were arrested while in school and kept in prison for five days. During this time they were subjected every day to terrible tortures in order to learn from them who is the leader of the alleged secret young communist organisation.

On the 3rd of February the village of Divdjadovo (district Schumen) was surrounded by police, blockaded and searched for weapons. Weapons were only found however at the houses of the supporters of the government. In spite of this, five peasants, former members of the Communist Party, were arrested. On the 3rd of February, in Russe, an anarchist was shot in the street by a police officer.

On the 11th of February in Sofia, Waltcho Ivanov, a Communist municipal councillor, a teacher by profession, was arrested. While under arrest he was tortured until midnight and finally strangled. His corpse was brought away in a motor car and thrown into a solitary street. It was found later with broken arms and legs and bruises over the whole body.

On the 14th of February, in Haskovo, Dimiter Zachariev, a Communist Municipal Councillor, was murdered in the street by an agent of the secret police.

On the 17th of February in Sofia, Todor Strachimirov, a Communist member of parliament, was shot in one of the busiest streets in the centre of the town. The police did not make the slightest attempt to arrest the assassin, but prevented his being seized by the passers by.

In the night of the 19th of February in Sofia, Mrs. Gitcheva, the wife of an architect, was found hanging in a ministerial office in the police presidium. According to the official report she had supposed to have hanged herself. One thing, however, is clear, either she was simply hanged by the police bandits, or that she was ill-treated so long and so fearfully that she preferred to kill herself rather than undergo a repetition of these tortures. In either case government is the murderer of the innocent woman. She was arrested solely because she was suspected of having harboured an „illegal“.

On the 20th February, mass arrests were carried out in Sofia and Schumen under the pretext that „conspiratory organisations“, „Tcheka“ etc. had been discovered.

On the 23rd of February Dimiter Dakakov, a Communist and school teacher, was shot by fascists in Philippopolis.

On the 24th of February a teacher named Raed was murdered in the police prison of Varna.

On the 26th of February mass arrests were carried out in Ferdinand. Among the arrested there were several high school students. They were suspected of belonging to a secret society.

On the 27th of February the town of Haskovo was again besieged and blockaded by military and police. Many house-searches for arms and illegal persons were carried out. Several persons were arrested and others interned. Among the interned was a lawyer, Theodor Kerjakov.

On the 28th of February, in Hermanli a Communist named Skrijovsky was murdered by fascists in a café.

On the same day in Svilengrad, Strinovsky a communist municipal councillor and old revolutionary, was murdered.

On the 2nd of March, in the neighbourhood of the village of Vinarovo, the corpse of Georgi Peev, a tailor of Stara Zagora, was found. He had been arrested some time previously, since when nothing had been heard of him.

On the 6th of March, Haralambi Stojanov, a communist member of parliament, was shot by agents of the government's murder organisation in one of the busiest streets of Sofia.

On the 10th of March there commenced in Varna the great trial of communists. Two hand grenades were thrown by fascists into the house where two of the defenders live, causing great material damage. By a lucky chance nobody was hurt. The accused communists thereupon decided not to avail themselves of the services of defenders in order not to expose the latter to such great dangers.